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551 576 604 Many Katab appear to use the personal name of the father's sister, a custom which would be regarded as shocking by many other tribes. The reason given was that she lives at a distance, and also that the speaker may one day stand to her in the relation of guardian, i.e. he may have the disposal of her hand in marriage. Otherwise, however, a man has little claim on his father's sister's household, and cannot exercise the privileges there which he can in the house of his mother's brother.

551 576 607 Though a woman may be inherited by her husband's elder brother she may not address him by his personal name, for if he is not actually the head of the family he is so potentially. But he may address her by her personal name. Per contra, it was stated that a man may use the personal name of his wife's elder brother.

604 *Mother-right.*—The traditions of the Katab connect them with a locality (viz. Kahugu) where there is to-day at least one mother-right tribe, and it is interesting, therefore, to note here any customs which might suggest that the tribe in former times belonged to a mother-right group. But it is not suggested that the following data necessarily imply a former condition of mother-right, for it is possible that customs which are commonly assumed to point to mother-right conditions are capable of explanation in other ways. We have seen that, although the mother's brother has a special title, he is nevertheless classed as 604 *atio* or father. This is natural, for we have already said that if 753 a Katab falls ill he usually goes and lives with his mother's 574 relatives. Why? There is a ready explanation. Sickness is commonly attributed to witchcraft or the machination of persons [754] who are evilly disposed. By removing yourself from the locality you are removing yourself from local poisonous influences which are often ascribed to the activity of jealous half-brothers or their mothers. And so we find the custom, which is common among both pagan and Muslim tribes, of a sick man taking refuge with his mother's family. The uterine nephew is, in fact, the object 604 of special care all through his career on the part of his uncle, who is a kind of second father or "male mother".[1] He not infrequently goes to live with his mother's brother if the latter has no one to help him on his farm, and in such a case would,

[1] Among many Nigerian tribes a person will say that his maternal uncle "bore" him.

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on the uncle's death, receive a share of the inheritance. In the ordinary course, however, the sister's son never inherits, though he enjoys numerous privileges during the uncle's lifetime. When he visits his uncle's home he may appropriate any of the latter's property. He has a good deal of say in the disposal of the hand of his uncle's female child, and may receive the bride-price (though he would hand over a proportion to his uncle). In bygone days when he obtained a human head he took it to his maternal uncle, who gave gifts to his nephew and had the head cleaned of flesh. Similarly, the head of every animal killed during a hunt was handed over to the maternal uncle, the head being regarded as a principal part; "for can an animal live without its head?" an appropriate remark for a head-hunting tribe. The maternal uncle could not, among the Katab (as he could among sections of the neighbouring tribe), sell or pawn his sister's son in time of stress. The lad's father or paternal uncle alone could take this extreme measure. The practices described do not in themselves imply any condition of a former mother-right. It is perfectly natural that a boy should regard his mother's home as his own second home, and that when he visits it he should be a welcome and privileged person; for his visits are necessarily infrequent, as he has to make a considerable journey in order to reach his mother's village. That a boy is not allowed to appropriate his paternal uncle's property in the same way as that of his maternal uncle is easily understood, as he lives in daily contact with his paternal uncle. We can also understand that he has fewer privileges in the home of his father's sister, for that home is controlled by the father's sister's husband, who sees no reason why inroads should be made on his property by his wife's nephew. It is interesting to note that females are not privileged to appropriate property from the maternal uncle in the same way as males; but a maternal uncle provides his niece with numerous gifts at marriage.

More suggestive of a former condition of mother-right is the Katab custom that the first two children of a man and a woman who was married as a virgin have to be formally handed over to the wife's family group. The first child is taken, two months after its birth, to the home of the wife's parents, who, after an interval of a month, summon the husband and hold a feast. Prayers are offered for the child's welfare by the wife's father

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A female child is sought in marriage almost as soon as she is born. Indeed, while a Katab woman is still enceinte, the father of a boy may come and ask that, should her child be a girl, she may be affianced to his son (and add that should it be a boy he would be glad if the mother would name him after himself, promising to regard him as a son). If the request is granted and the child proves to be a girl, the father of the boy fastens a few cowries on her wrist as a symbol of appropriation. In the ordinary way, however, the girl is sought in marriage when she is a few years old, and it is important to note that the suitor never approaches the father of the girl directly in the first instance. He goes to the father's brother, for it is the father's brother who has the chief say in the disposal of the girl's hand and who receives the bride-price, part of which only he hands on to the parents of the girl. If the girl has no paternal uncle her hand may be at the disposal of a male paternal cousin.[1] It is for this reason that a playmate relationship is not permitted between a man and a female cousin to whom he may one day stand in the relation of guardian. When the girl grows up, and perchance finds she dislikes her betrothed, she would, through her girl friends, make her parents aware of her distaste, and the engagement would be broken off. But such a course would be unusual, as the maiden, even on the marriage day, is too young to hold any strong opinions of her own. She is formally betrothed at the age of seven, the fiancé presenting four chickens to the bridegroom's father. In that and every succeeding year the bridegroom and his friends perform one day's collective work on the farm of the girl's father (or her uncle if she has been, as commonly happens, adopted by her father's brother or cousin). This farm work may be commuted for a cash payment. Two thousand cowries or their equivalent are also given to the girl's father, who keeps the major part for himself and distributes the balance among his male relatives, i.e. brothers and paternal cousins. The bride-price is 20,000 cowries given to the father (of which he keeps two-thirds for his own use, distributing the balance among his relatives). Before the final rites a goat must be presented to the girl's mother, three chickens to the father, and one hundred cowries to her maternal grandfather. The

[1] And sometimes maternal, though I omitted to obtain detailed instances.

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"Ei, ee." *Obwai*: "Na mi kiang a zangat se zangat (indecent). Refrain: "Ei, ee."

The indecency of the songs sung at the public festivals is in striking contrast to the rules of decorum which govern the ordinary private life. This is not characteristic of the Katab, but may be said to be general of all Negro society. To brothers-in-law, for example, any jokes about sexual intercourse would, in the ordinary course, be taboo and wholly impossible. A man will bow down in humble subjection to his parents-in-law and avoid them on all possible occasions. But on the occasion of public festivals all the ordinary rules of private life are waived, and there is a saturnalia which permits a father-in-law to dance round in the same circle as his daughter-in-law, singing songs referring in the main to sexual matters. It is repugnant to any native to repeat in cold blood the words of these songs to a European, and it would be equally repugnant to him to use them at any other time than on the occasion of the public festival when, as of old among the Romans, free expression is given to the pent-up feelings. (In this connection we may instance cases where during public festivals, e.g. among the Gwari, it is permissible to abuse the Chief without fear of retaliation for all actions during the year which were regarded as unjust and tyrannical.) An *obwai* festival is also held at harvest, and a month before the feast his voice is heard warning the people to make preparations and desist from idle disputes.

There are among the Katab no elaborate rites of initiation into the cult of *obwai*. Children are taken to his hut at an early age (4–8), warned to be obedient to their parents and given food. The short ceremony is concluded by a form of baptism in a stream, the smearing of the boys' heads with mahogany oil, and a feast in the village. It may be of interest to mention here the part that the *obwai* plays among the neighbouring Jaba tribe in the matter of initiation. These initiation rites among the Jaba have no connection with circumcision. They are performed when the lad is between 9 and 11 years of age. Among the Jaba, the *obwai* is known as the *Ku*[1] and the initiation rites are known as *woroku*. A noteworthy feature is that the lad is initiated not by his father, but by his maternal uncle. The father has no say in the matter. The lad goes to his maternal uncle's house, and the uncle provides the preliminary fee of one chicken. He

[1] This is a Jukun and apparently also an Ancient Egyptian term. See Meek, *A Sudanese Kingdom*, p. 263.

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Kagoro

621 582 the same group as you give your daughters you might be marrying a relative forbidden by the "clan" rule. Moreover, a mother and daughter might be lodged in the same household or family as the respective wives of two brothers or cousins). Secondly, it prevents hostility (which wife-stealing entails) with a group many of whose members are married to your daughters.

583 A few words may be said about the marriage arrangements. Marriage with girls is of the so-called "purchase" type, coupled with some spasmodic agricultural service rendered to the girl's parents or guardians. The purchase amounts to little, taking the form merely of gifts of a hoe, beer, and meat, a return present of cooked beans being given by the girl's family. Later, gifts of beniseed and two chickens are given, cooked beans being again given in return. When the girl is ready for marriage she receives the elaborate body-marks mentioned in the Katab report. The final gifts are one goat and six chickens, after which the girl is taken to the husband's home, a marriage feast being held. It is noteworthy that girls are only given in marriage about the month of October. Marriage by elopement is arranged by the couple themselves, but the abductor nowadays first secures by gifts the good offices of the woman's parents. Formerly it was customary for a man to abduct the wife of a member of another town and subsequently to obtain by gifts the consent of her parents. There is no marriage by exchange among the Kagoro. [604] A maternal uncle may help his sister's son to procure a wife, but among the Kagoro the maternal uncle has no great authority. [43] If a boy is successful in hunting he gives the head to the maternal uncle, who in return presents him with a goat or hoe and an arrow to replace the one expended in bringing down the quarry. [582 602] A man may marry into his mother's ward, but he must avoid immediate blood relatives of his mother. The relationship system is identical with that of the Katab.

825 582 621 [761] *Animal Emblems.*—In Fadan Kagoro the people of the Lawat ward appear to associate themselves with a certain species of snake. If this snake passes the door of a Lawat's house it is said to be a portent of death. No Lawat may kill this snake, but members of the associated wards of Agwam and Kadau may. The Mingyuo are said to respect the bush cat, and the Mungwop the chameleon. If a Mungwap killed a chameleon the heads of his children would, at birth, be covered with sores. The

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582 same way that the Aku and Shokwa sections of the Katab tribe
614 are blamed by the other sections of the Katab for not conforming to the general practice. It will be seen that the system among the Morwa corresponds more or less to that of the Kagoro. It differs from that of the Katab in that among the Katab the wife-stealing grouping is usually smaller than the clan grouping, whereas among the Morwa the wife-stealing grouping is usually larger than the clan grouping.

583 The wife-stealing customs of the Morwa do not seem to
586 have been interfered with by the Administration. A form of bride-price is paid by the abductor to the father of the woman with whom he elopes. The Morwa do not want any change made in their custom, such as the formal dissolution of the primary marriage by a refund of the bride-price. A husband who loses his wife by elopement hopes that she will one day return to him. The practice, they say, is suitable for both husbands and wives. It gives each the opportunity of finding the partner who suits him or her best. A Morwa seldom demands the return of his bride-price. He might ask for the return of the bride-price paid for a woman who proved unsatisfactory within a year of marriage, but even in these circumstances the bride-price would be lessened by a sum reckoned as compensation for the house-work performed, an interesting sidelight on the Morwa conception of marriage. Children belong to the actual father.

583 Girls are given in marriage twice a year, when the first rains
587 come and at the ripening of the millet, a fertility custom. A form
428 of capture is practised with the connivance of the girl's parents and relatives. During the capture female relatives make a show of beating off the captors. Both the senior and junior levirate are practised, and sons may inherit their fathers' widows. This latter practice appears, however, to be dying out. Nor do the Morwa any longer inherit the widows of grandparents.

●604 As regards authority in the mother's family the Morwa have similar customs to the Kagoro. Boys are careful to avoid incurring the displeasure of a maternal uncle, whose curse would be regarded
[431] with the greatest fear. Husbands are accustomed to giving a formal present of a *kantu* of salt to the wife's parents when she bears a second child. This is analogous to the redemptive fee
604 payable among neighbouring tribes. It is customary among
597 the Morwa, as among their neighbours, for a man to hand over

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one or more of his sons to a brother or half-brother who has no children of his own. This is considered a duty, and it is said to be good for the boy as he will be more strictly brought up by his paternal uncle than by his own father. In such cases the paternal uncle arranges the boy's marriage, and the boy is expected to look after his paternal uncle in his old age. His father has no further control over him. Occasionally a Morwa will send a son temporarily to his wife's family. But it is not the custom (as occasionally among the Hausa) to hand over a son to a friend who is not a close relative.

Clan emblems appear to be non-existent except among the Agbat, who respect the python. No one will eat leopard's flesh unless in conjunction with a protective medicine of pumpkin leaves. It is interesting to note that the skins of leopards have to be handed over to the Chawai chiefs, an indication that the Morwa are intruders into Chawai country.

The Morwa culture resembles that of the Katab. They wear the "tail" described in the Katab report, and it might have been added there that, according to Driberg, the Lango of Uganda formerly wore "a broad leathern tail covering both buttocks and studded with pieces of metal". Incidentally the same author records that unmarried girls among the Lango (and apparently also among the Bari) wear aprons of small metal chains. The Ganawuri, who are the immediate neighbours of the Morwa, have also this custom which appears to be unique in Nigeria.[1]

Religion.—As already stated the principal priestly family lives at Kisagwai near Manchok. The cult is principally animistic. A feast of All Souls is held annually, and twice a year (in October and March) the ghosts of the dead are heard crying in the sacred grove, a sign that the time has come when the rites should be performed. A bull-roarer is used to simulate the cries of the spirits, a custom which links the Morwa with the Semi-Bantu speaking groups. In the grove there is a sacred spring, and there the priest makes his offerings of beer, calling on the departed spirits to be patient and refrain from destroying the town. The lintel of the door of the priest's house at Kisagwai is decorated with a black cross. There is the same rule among the Morwa as among the Kagoro, that no one may enter a priest's hut or

[1] But it is found among the Tur of the British Cameroons.